2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

THE Muhammadan natives of Morocco are chiefly of Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the arrival of the Arabs was spread over the whole country, has in a large part of it been superseded by the tongue of the invaders. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term "Berber" is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rīf, called by themselves Irifīyẹn and in Arabic Ruâfa, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast between a line about forty miles south-east of Tetuan and the neighbourhood of the Algerian frontier; the Brâber, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the Shlöḥ, or Išelḥīn as they call themselves, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs, situated to the south of it—a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from the neighbourhood of Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain; and the Drâwa, who inhabit the valley of the Wăd Drā in the extreme south of Morocco. A fifth group consists of various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-eastern corner of the country. All the Berber-speaking people are called by a Berber name Imazīġĕn.

This division into groups is based not only on geographical but also on linguistic considerations. The dialects of the tribes belonging to the same group have greater

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
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197 lies partly in the complete absence of a written standard, and partly in the vastness of the territory inhabited by the Berbers and the lack of contact between the different groups or even sections of the same group.[1]

The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco consist of the 'Arab (" Arabs "), who inhabit most of the plains; the Jbâla (" mountaineers ") who inhabit the mountain region extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the neighbourhood of Fez and to the west and south of the Rîf; and the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the towns, who are often referred to as " Moors ", although this name may be more conveniently applied to the Muhammadan population of Morocco in general. The dialectic differences of the Arabic of Morocco are infinitely smaller than those of the Berber idioms. The pronunciation of ت and ث as *ts* (*tˢ*) in Northern Morocco and of ق (Moorish ڤ) as *g* among the 'Arab is particularly conspicuous.

191 Although Arabic is spoken over a much smaller area of the country than Berber, it is nevertheless the dominant language, being that of the Government and administration, the religious creed, and the higher culture. Berber is despised as a barbarous jargon. There is an Arabic saying, *Lá-'sel ma hûwa iḍam, l-bĕšna ma hîya ṭă'âm, š-šĕlḥa ma hîya klam*, " Honey is not grease, durra is not food, Shelḥa is not a language ". The Berbers themselves look upon their language as much inferior to Arabic, and those who have learned Arabic—many of them are bilingual—are often ashamed of speaking their mother-tongue. More than once I noticed the glad surprise shown by my Berber teachers at the interest I took in it, and their answers were in the beginning not infrequently accompanied with a friendly smile.[2] But although the Berbers respect the Arabic language, they do not like the 'Arab. The Shlōḥ accuse

[1] For the classification and mutual relations of the Berber dialects of Morocco *cf.* Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 3 *sq.*; Laoust, ' Coup d'œil sur les Études dialectales berbères au Maroc ', in *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, i. (Paris, 1920), p. 117 *sqq.*; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger, 1920), p. 51 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Basset, *op. cit.* p. 34 *sq.*

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them of being brutal and filthy in their habits, and call them *izakārn* (Iglíwa) or *izākârĕn* (Tazĕrwalt[1]), meaning "ropes"; the Aiṭ Sádděn call them *iḫššóǧĕn*, or "logs", and other Brâber give them a similar epithet. Nor are the Jbâla fond of the 'Arab. In Andjra I was told that they have no religion, neglect the fast of Ramaḍān, and have illicit

FIG. 3.—College student in Fez.

intercourse with their sisters; and at the weddings there the married men, who in every conceivable way molest the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, are characteristically enough called "the 'Arab". I was assured that the Rifians are a much better race.

It should be noticed, however, that the term 'Arab is only an indication of language, not of race. There can be no doubt that the large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes in

[1] Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 190.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
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175
[191]

Morocco are purely or essentially Berber by origin. The number of Arab immigrants from the East can only have been comparatively small. Those who came there as conquerors at the end of the seventh and at the beginning of the eighth century were only a handful of people. The chief invasion took place in the eleventh century, when several Bedouin tribes settled down in Barbary. Ibn ar-Raqīq estimated the number of these invaders at more than a million persons of both sexes and the number of combatants at fifty thousand;[1] but it seems that his estimates are considerably exaggerated.[2] In any case the invaders were spread over a large area, from Tripoli to the Atlantic Ocean, and we may presume that only a minority of them reached Morocco.[3] An anthropological investigation of over eight thousand natives of Eastern Barbary has led Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre to the conclusion that the number of Arab immigrants has always been insufficient to impress their type on the mass of the people, and that "the so-called Arab tribes of North Africa present the same somatic characteristics as other tribes which are incontestably Berbers".[4] It seems that among the tribes of Morocco north of the Great Atlas range a fair quantity of Arab blood may be found chiefly in those living between Alcazar and Laraiche and between the rivers Bū Ragrág and Ůmm r-Rbē' and a little farther south, whereas the other Arabic-speaking tribes mostly consist of Arabised Berbers who have changed their language.[5] I desire to emphasise that in speaking of "Arabs" in Morocco I simply make use of a term by which the people themselves denote the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the plains, while by "Berbers" I mean Berber-speaking people.

[1] Ibn ar-Raqīq, quoted by Marmol Caravajal, *L'Afrique*, i. (Paris, 1677), p. 275; and by Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. by J. Pory (London, 1896), p. 139.

[2] G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Constantine & Paris, 1913), pp. 113, 733.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 515 *sq.*

[4] Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* (Lyon, 1913), pp. 347, 358.

[5] See Marçais, *op. cit.* map.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 a *fqih*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who
778 stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site
782 itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *musammi'*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside
[191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

788 If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the
778 grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin
[222] immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the village headmen.

augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619
144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first,
648 is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619
648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

619 [423] [191] A large number of their families own land in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bilingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The 1-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Huwwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

[166] A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided. [578] [166] Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

195 descent." The Andalusian Muslims could hardly have displaced any large group of Berbers, for they settled, almost to a man, in cities and towns. It is reasonable to conclude that the Moroccan highlands remained Berber not because they were a place of retreat but because the drift of Arab influence went around the mountains rather than through or over them. The horticultural skills of the highland Berbers and their intricate social organization suggest stability, not the culture of a refugee population driven to new and unfamiliar environments."

The Christian reconquest of Spain, led by Castile and Aragón, began in 1225. Córdoba fell in 1236, and Sevilla in 1249. Soon Spanish Islam was reduced to the small kingdom of Granada, which had accepted Castile as an overlord. In 1492 Granada itself was taken, and Spanish Islam ceased to exist. Even before the conquest of Granada, many Muslims sought refuge in Morocco. These refugees repeopled most of the Moroccan towns, and provided the Saadians with technical experts and soldiers. Northern Morocco became a center of Andalusian civilization. Some families in Tetuán, Shawen, and Fez still retain keys to their ancestral homes in al-Andalus.

The Andalusian refugees brought a richer and more classical form of Arabic speech. Since most of the immigrants settled in towns, the distinction between urban and rural dialects was intensified. This distinction is still strong. The more elegant city speech is spoken not only in Fez (the great center of Andalusian culture) but also in Rabat-Salé (settled by Andalusians in the seventeenth century) and in Tetuán (most of whose inhabitants came from Ronda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Taza, Ksar al-Kebir, and Azemmour also have somewhat urbanized dialects, while Tangier and Wezzan show the influence of neighoring tribes. Meknès and Marrakech, perhaps the most extreme examples of country speech, are accordingly looked down upon by their bourgeois neighbors. Thus there is, besides the Arab-Berber distinction, a strong contrast even among Moroccans who are Arabized. No one familiar with the sounds and rhythms of Maghribi Arabic could fail to distinguish between the dialect of Old Fez and the quasi-bedawin speech of the rural tribes."

197 Several of the tribes shown as Berber-speakers in figure 12 are described as
• 191 Arabophones in previous work. Disagreement arises from the fact that many tribes are bilingual. When questioned about their language preference, many Berbers reply that they speak only Arabic, but if questioned further they will add that their women and children speak Berber, and that boys do not begin to learn Arabic until they are old enough to attend a Qur'anic school. This is the situation among the Aith Seddath, a tribe often described as bilingual or Arabophone." It is important to note whether merchants or the educated members of a tribe use more than one language, but the linguistic attainments of the elite should not be allowed to obscure the basic pattern of domestic speech. The fact that one Rifian in ten speaks some Spanish or Arabic does not mean that the Rif

" Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert*, p. 265, cited in note 56.

[113] " René Raynal, in "Quelques aperçus géographiques sur l'évolution des régions humanes du Maroc," *Hespéris*, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, 39 (1952), 1–16, refers to the Berber mountains as "vieilles régions humaines."

[113] " G. S. Colin, "L'Arabe," in *Initiation au Maroc* (3d ed., Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1945), pp. 208 ff.

[113] " A. Renisio, *Etude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

should be described as a bilingual zone. Probably not one Rifian woman in a hundred understands Arabic or Spanish, and few Rifian men speak either language correctly.

In northern Morocco the Berber language is represented by three dialects: Rifian, Sanhajan, and Ghmara. Rifian is by far the most important. It varies somewhat from tribe to tribe, but this variation does not hinder communication. The differences in pronunciation are evident as one moves from the Nkour Valley toward Wad Moulouya, particularly in Ikibdhanen. Rifians can understand the dialect of the Aith Iznasen, but they are obliged to use interpreters when they deal with the Sanhajans. The Ghmaran dialect is nearly extinct. Today it is spoken only in Bani Bu Zra and in a few hamlets of Bani Mansur and Bani Grir. The relationship between Ghmaran and the other dialects is not yet clear, but Ghmaran seems to be a distinct dialect, not a variant of Rifian or Sanhajan.[a] Differences in pronunciation may be considerable, even among speakers of the same dialect. The speech of Ktama and Taghzut, for example, is barely intelligible to the Aith Seddath. The degree of difference between Rifian and Sanhajan is probably as great as that between Spanish and Italian. Nevertheless, philologists prefer to recognize only one Berber language, and attribute differences of this magnitude to isolation and the absence of literature.[b]

Berber speech has completely disappeared from the area west of Bani Siyyat, Bani Silman, and Bani Khalid. The progress of Arabization was more rapid in the interior than along the Mediterranean coast. Even today the route from Tetuán to Melilla follows the ridges of the Rifian chain, whereas no road follows the coast east of Wad Lao. The Ghmaran dialect is preserved in an area crossed by deep canyons, and bounded by high mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. In Sanhaja as-Srair most of the Arabophones occupy land south of the mountain chain. The Bani Bu Shibat and Bani Hmid find it much easier to visit the markets of Marnisa, where Arabic is spoken, than to climb the mountains to reach the main area of Sanhajan speech. In the eastern part of the Rif, Arabic is spoken only along the Moulouya Valley, the route of advance for bedawin tribes moving northward from the Algerian plateaus. The Ulad Stut not only speak Arabic but are of Arabian (i.e., bedawin) descent.[c] This claim can also be made by the Khlut, who moved into the Atlantic lowland during the fourteenth century.[d]

The first to abandon Berber (or Latin) speech were the peoples of the Tingitanian peninsula and the plains near Fez. After the collapse of Muslim Spain the same areas became havens for Andalusian refugees. From these two centers Arabic speech and Islamic culture gradually moved into the highlands. This movement is still in progress. In fact, Moroccan independence will cause an acceleration, for the language of the Prophet now has political as well as religious sanction. The Ghmaran dialect will become extinct in a generation, and in another generation or two the Sanhajan dialect may also disappear. In Ktama, Sanhajan speech is retained only in the inaccessible valley of Abd al-Ghaya, between Adrar

[a] G. S. Colin, "Le parler berbère des Gmara," *Hespéris*, 9 (1929), 43–58.
[b] Basset, *op. cit.*, in note 9.
[c] Marçais, *op. cit.*, in note 57.
[d] According to D. M. Hart (personal communication), only 9 out of 171 place and lineage names in the Khlut area are indisputably Berber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The pattern of colonization was different in the French zone.[23] Drawn by the classic motivations of the time—trade, new land, promise of quick profits, adventure, and dissatisfaction with conditions at home—French colonists poured into Morocco by the thousands. In each of the main areas of *colon* activity—i.e., the plains of the lower Sebou, the Gharb, and the area around Oujda—European colonization necessitated displacement of native farmers and pastoralists. The resulting confusion and conflict were important factors in the development of Moroccan nationalism.[24] In 1955 French settlers owned about 7 per cent of Morocco's productive land, but this land was exceptionally fertile and accounted for 40 per cent of the national income from agriculture.[25] In comparison, the extent of agricultural development in Spanish Morocco seems negligible.

If rural colonization was negligible in Spanish Morocco, the military occupation was not. Since its inception, the Spanish protectorate functioned as a military training ground. During most of the period of effective Spanish occupation, at least 200,000 troops were stationed in the northern zone. This force included the *mehalla*, or Khalifian army, of about 10,000 native troops, and large concentrations of the Spanish army. The more accessible rural areas were patrolled by the *makhzaniya*, or rural police, a force patterned after the Spanish *guardia civil*. Rifians, especially the Aith Wariyaghar, were eager to serve in one of the military forces, and the Spanish, who valued their obedience and hardiness, were just as eager to enlist them. Rifian troops formed a substantial part of Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War. Military service under Spanish officers or "instructors" led to acceptance of some aspects of Iberian culture. The most striking evidence of such acceptance is the widespread use of Spanish as a second language in the Rif.

Contact between Spaniards and the rural population took place also at the scattered outposts of the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas. At the head of each outpost was an army officer called an *interventor*. His function was to act as overseer of tribal government. Most *intervenciones* had a school, with a Spanish teacher, and a few had doctors and veterinarians. The Spaniards led a rather sedentary life, and did not attempt to intervene in the routine events of tribal life. But they could impose fines or make arrests if necessary, and the tribal authorities were obliged to implement Spanish directives if they wished to remain in power.

In Morocco, as in most colonial areas, the extent of road building and improvement in communications is a reliable measure of European influence. In Spanish Morocco the first roads were constructed to facilitate pacification and administration. Once this network was established, little effort was made to add tributary lines for more efficient movement of goods. In 1956 Spanish Morocco had about 1,000 kilometers of primary roads, but only half of this distance was surfaced. The track from Bab Taza to Alhucemas was the only durable link between the western and the eastern sector of the zone, and it was blocked for days or even

[23] M. M. Knight, *Morocco as a French Economic Venture: A Study of Open Door Imperialism* (New York: Appleton, 1937).

[24] Comité d'Action Marocaine, *Plan de réformes marocaines* (Paris: privately published, 1934).

[25] On European holdings in French Morocco, see Planche 33 b, "Exploitations rurales européennes," *Atlas du Maroc* (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1938), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

316 [village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin] Caravan

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murābiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On